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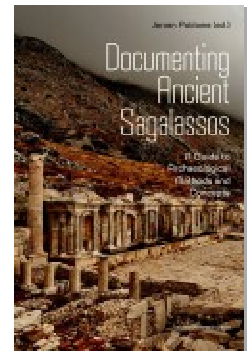
How do we document a concept? Social memory in antiquity



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How do we document a concept? Social memory in antiquity

Bas Beaujean

How does one document an abstract idea generalised from particular instances? This is something that at first glance might seem evident, but often starts to slip away the more you scrutinise it. First and foremost, careful description and definition of the concept is the name of the game. Everything hinges upon what a concept means, i.e. how it is linked to the dynamics (practices) which reconfigure realities, and which actors (e.g. humans, gods, objects) actively partake in these dynamics. This ontological understanding of a concept can differ considerably between oneself, one's academic peers and the general public. This initial phase of defining the concept, both theoretically and operationally, is critical. If the foundation is rotten, this rot will eventually spread to everything built on top of it, including the documentation of data, and one does not want to place that final brick and watch all that hard work collapse into a meaningless pile of rubble.

How to define a concept

Generally speaking, most of the concepts used in archaeological research did not originate within the discipline itself, but were borrowed and/or adapted from other research traditions like geology, sociology and anthropology. These concepts developed in specific academic contexts nestled within larger political and socio-cultural settings, and have had multiple complex trajectories within a rapidly changing world. To better understand such a concept, and deconstruct its assumptions, identify biases and estimate its current research potential, one needs to investigate how, when and why it originated, how this fitted within the wider zeitgeist, how the concept subsequently developed and was integrated into archaeological theory and methodologies, and keep tracing its uses and associated discussions up until the present day. In short, the first step is to care-

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fully trace the historiography of the concept one intends to use, and assess its suitability with respect to one's own research goals.

All of this might sound like quite a bit of work. Potentially all for naught, if the concept and related methodologies turn out to be ill-suited for the stated research goals. Fortunately, we are not the only ones passionate about studying human behaviour in the past. You can bet your boots that if you think of something clever, someone lucky enough to be born earlier will have thought of it before, and shared his or her ruminations with the rest of us. Consequently, if a concept has been around long enough, there are bound to be several historiographic works and critical deconstructions available for a quick assessment of its history, utility and biases. If this assessment turns out to be a positive one, the real fun can begin: the operational defining of the concept with respect to the spatiotemporal framework and goals of your own interests. A moment of excitement and ostensibly endless possibilities, facilitated of course by a good dose of blissful ignorance. No need to worry, such rosy expectations will soon be dashed on the battlefield of academia – lined with unflinching critics, conservative hardliners and conceptual daredevils. Indeed, most of the relevant concepts are hotly debated, which often has the advantage of keeping everyone honest and stimulating creativity. However, this can also result in confusion and culminate in seemingly never-ending semantic discussions. In this chapter, readers will be given a whistle-stop tour of a process of conceptualisation, including a short description of practical applications. For this purpose, we will use the slippery concept of 'social memory', as it is a perfect example of a concept that seems obvious, but if used incorrectly results in a methodological framework with more holes than a Swiss cheese.

A trip down social memory lane

First of all, we look into the appearance of social memory on the academic scene, and explicate some of its archaeologically relevant developments during the last quarter of the 20th century. This chapter is not intended as an in-depth deconstruction of social memory,[1] and is of course a reflection of the author's own convictions regarding the concept. Everybody seems to love a good origin story these days, so let us get started.

'Once upon a time' might be the perfect opening words to kick off any discussion of social memory, which is in large part about the power of the past to communicate contemporary in-group concerns. Once upon a time there lived a sociologist named Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945), and while certainly not the sole source of origin,[2] he is often considered the father of what he termed

‘collective memory’. Take up any academic product with an adjective specifying some kind of ‘memory’ in the title – be it social, collective or cultural – and it is bound to at least mention the good man in passing. Halbwachs was influenced by the disparate teachings of his two mentors: structural functionalist Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), and philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941). It is the latter’s contemplations about the subjectivity of memory, in combination with Durkheim’s emphasis on the pervasiveness of social orders,[3] that in part inspired Halbwachs’ eloquent enunciation of collective memory in *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925) and *La mémoire collective* (1950). Assuredly, he wrote during a time permeated by modernist thought, wherein the mind was conceived as separate from body and (material) world. Consequently, the mind was understood as a bona fide storage device, using sensory perceptions to record and store data (i.e. memory), which could in turn be used for objective reconstructions of an external world.[4] Like all of us, Halbwachs was an intellectual creature of his time, yet his cerebrations about memory partially transcended modernist notions of remembering. He did not perceive individual recall as accurate recovery of information, but as acts of socially embedded composition. During these acts, elements from a plurality of dynamic memories were used to bring individual concerns and beliefs[5] – which are influenced by group affiliations – into conformity with contemporary political and socio-cultural developments.[6] For Halbwachs, the individual act of recall was thus inherently social. For instance, he used the act of dreaming[7] to illustrate that in the only situation wherein human beings are completely disconnected from their social trappings, the result is utter incoherence. It is probably a misreading of his central thesis, aggravated by the many uses and associations of the word ‘memory’, in combination with nationalist agendas, and the age of computerisation, that the idea of collective memory as an actual entity persists in popular parlance and occasionally academia.[8] Let us be up front. There is no such thing as collective memory in the sense of an overarching hive-mind, and Halbwachs specifically cautioned against such a blatant misconception. Stating that Cuba remembers is incorrect (using memory-related metaphors in a piece about social memory can only obfuscate, and is inadvisable), but saying that Che Guevara is collectively recalled by individuals supporting a specific in-group notion of Cuba is not. Naturally, what is communicated between these individuals is not a realistic representation of the revolutionary himself, but an idealistic composite of his biological, physical and psychological characteristics, and his many deeds – both real and imaginary – that articulate the present concerns of a group engaging within the wider world. It is from this conceptualisation of collective memory by Halbwachs that our whistle-stop tour of its further development departs.

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Most of the seeds regarding elaborations and (re)adaptations of 'collective memory' had already been planted in Halbwachs' original works, albeit in an underdeveloped state – like unexplored paths whose initial direction was marked on a map. Fast-forward to the 1970s and 1980s, when the so-called 'memory boom' exploded in academia. For those interested in the complex culmination of zeitgeist-specific processes hypothesised to have facilitated this resurgence, and its actual validity, we refer to the various deconstructions and discussions regarding this phenomenon.[9] Instead, we will focus on several exponents of this trend that shaped the integration of social memory in archaeological theory, and my own understanding of it. Pierre Nora, the first stop on our tour of social memory lane, contended that historical deconstruction had eviscerated France's uninterrupted environments of memory, what he called *milieux de mémoires*. Consequently, he argued that only *lieux de mémoires* remained: isolated sites of memory where a deep sense of continuity with the past persisted.[10] While his separation of history and memory is problematic, Nora's nostalgic ruminations inspired various historians and archaeologists to focus on mnemonically charged entities ripped from the semiotic landscapes in which they had once emerged. This attention to mnemonic focal points in landscapes, in part already elucidated by Halbwachs,[11] benefited from the maturation of archaeological survey methodologies, and has been integral in regional studies of how past societies understood their landscapes in relation to their own conjectured pasts.[12] In addition to reinvigorating interest in spatial aspects of social memory processes, Nora's existential crisis also directed attention to the pertinent question of whether there is a difference between the products of historical research and social memories generated by (non-academic) social groups.[13]

During his successive essays, Nora made the plaintive remark that gestures and habits are the last bastion of true memory in modern times,[14] skimming the surface of a more subtle element of social memory processes: the mnemonic power of repetitive (bodily) practices. While Halbwachs commented indirectly upon the importance of ritual and daily practices in the social formation and continuation of group values and beliefs,[15] he never explicitly considers the mnemonic efficacies of performances and gesticulations. In his pivotal work *How societies remember* (1989), Paul Connerton does look beneath the surface, and enunciates how the human body is crucial in (re)establishing a sense of social cohesion. He puts practice centre stage, dividing mnemonically efficacious practices into 'incorporating' and 'inscribing' practices, the former relating to momentary bodily communication between actors, the latter pertaining to the (un)intentional transference of information, like inscriptions, that can outlast its spatiotemporal setting.[16] While his conception of inscribing practices does not completely shake off the yoke of modernism, the emphasis on (bodily)

practices rolls out the red carpet for archaeology. If practices are the linchpin in generating what we call social memories, all actors and/or elements interacting in such activities – including qualities of material culture and landscapes – can be used to investigate mnemonic phenomena. As a result, the concept becomes useful for archaeology. This brings us to our third and last main stop: the mnemonic power of materiality in (re)establishing group continuity. This is an aspect partially enunciated by Jan Assmann while describing his concepts of 'cultural and bonding memory'.

In part, Assmann focuses on disentangling the knotty conceptual relationship between Halbwachs' collective memories and traditions, which Halbwachs regularly and somewhat randomly alluded to, but never truly explicated. He enunciates that what people call traditions consist of sets of *material* and immaterial cultural instruments (i.e. cultural memory), which through objectification and mnemonic practices become intricately intertwined with various in-group perceptions of the past and present, offering participants semiotic anchors to catch onto amidst the unpredictability of life.[17] Consequently, the material precipitation of such evocative mnemonic practices are discernible within the archaeological record (i.e. form patterns), and can be used to study how traditions facilitated the continuation of social entities. He juxtaposed this cultural memory with bonding memory (Halbwachs' collective memory), which pertains to the more quotidian practices of group formation, and has a limited temporal horizon of 80–100 years.[18] While Assmann theoretically cautions against conflating cultural memory with inscribing and bonding memory with incorporating practices, methodologically he does exactly that. This creates a conceptual break between the mundane and extraordinary, which originated in the Bergsonian–Durkheimian duality of collective memory. As Assmann is chiefly concerned with explicit manifestations of institutionalised inscribing practices, the championing of inscribing over incorporating practices is not much of a problem for him, but it is for those focusing on material culture. In particular, Connerton's ruminations hint at the mnemonic potential in seemingly mundane practices – for example, how people prepare a meal, produce a pot, or simply how they do things – allowing us a foothold to bridge this ontological gap. As Connerton dryly remarked,[19] from its beginning, most phenomena described by the concept of collective memory have been all about in-group and inter-group communication of how the past relates to the present. It is about how people meet in (for them) important locations within the landscape, and through vocal and bodily performances relay that importance to each other. It is in how one greets one's neighbour, and expects that salutation to be reciprocated in a certain way. It can be specific in how a building is constructed through collective action, or how one practices one's religion within a

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group setting. All of these acts and practices are about (re)establishing predictability, communicating how the world was, is and will be. Like fish moving in schools, life is more predictable when living it with like-minded neighbours. As such, the concept of social memory – coined by Fentress and Wickham[20] – is all about the formation and maintenance of (dynamic) social identities.

This seemingly evident observation has severe implications for archaeological studies of social memory processes, and how we can use data to effectively study them. If we abstract social groups to consist of dynamic sets of actors (e.g. human beings, animals, material culture, values), whose connection is expressed in various ways during (mnemonic) practices,[21] certain actors can come to be structurally equated by in- and/or out-group members, signalling in-group similarities and inter-group differences.[22] Such in-group similarities can revolve around certain group-specific values and customs, providing members with affordances influencing how and why they act. However, the aforementioned actors are usually part of other groups as well – groups with their own specific and potentially conflicting and/or overlapping in-group values, beliefs and associated practices. Consequently, human beings and material culture are, according to different degrees of intensity (depending on intra- and inter-group dynamics, and external influences), and across relative scales, at any time dynamically engaged in multiple processes of group formation. This makes it extremely difficult to identify specific social groups and their in-group activities on the basis of non-random material precipitation alone. In addition, the material durability of some emergent products affords them a permanence outlasting the social groups and even societies in which they first emerged, and consequently remained available for semiotic (re)use.[23] Relatedly, the fact that individuals actively participate in several groups, coupled with the semiotic mutability of material culture, cautions against overestimating the homogeneity of social groups and their mnemonic experiences. This is a rather common flaw in the archaeological interpretation of the impact of certain social memory processes. Additionally, we need to guard against equating individual abilities in a group setting or during social activities with those of a social group, when making this methodological leap during data analysis – as it at the very least obfuscates the essence of what we are studying.[24] This complexity inherent in group formation brings us to a third issue: the tunnel focus on determining human intentionality in social memory processes. With so many interacting variables, human cognition cannot be the quintessential source of action, as modernist thought purported it to be, but is dynamically engaged in relations with other types of actors and elements,[25] from which it continually emerges. Furthermore, the structurally emergent products of such complex interactions cannot be reduced to their constituent actors and/or elements, but are more

than the sum of their parts, and as such need to be studied within the totality of relations from which they emerged.[26]

All considered, the phenomena we have been describing as representative of what we like to call social memory are quite diverse in both extent and character. Accordingly, to shine an archaeological light on how bygone social groups dealt with their own conjectured pasts when (re)establishing themselves within an ever-changing world, we need to analyse how they used material culture to (re)configure their formation, and place it all within contemporary political and socio-cultural developments. We do this while keeping a set of theoretical principles in mind: (1) individual memory is sociogenic (i.e. not an inherent, unchanging quality of human beings), (2) anything can become an actant in group formation (i.e. methodological departure from heterogeneity not homogeneity), (3) actors do not change inherently, but through engaging in relations with different actors (i.e. change and continuity are not absolute binaries), (4) individual recall is selective, and includes forgetting (i.e. there is always a cost), (5) action is not a human prerogative (i.e. intent ≠ consequences), (6) group (dis)unity is not inherent (i.e. requires explanation), and perhaps most importantly (7) the past is always reused according to present concerns (i.e. social memory studies are not studies of origination). Ontologically, we thus integrate our understanding of social memory into a flat ontology, commonly rooted in relational theories. Departing from heterogeneity requires subdividing our methodological framework into cognitively digestible bits (e.g. landscapes, cityscapes, deathscapes), lest our creativity choke on these extensive and multifarious datasets. Technically, the concept of social memory does not significantly change the way we archaeologically document during intensive surveys and excavations. Its forté is in exploiting the heuristic synergy between seemingly disparate kinds of documented data, facilitating new insights and hypotheses about the potential of material culture to engage in past group formation, Let us now consider a social memory approach when applied to archaeological contexts. While we lack the space to carry out the analytic procedures, we can give a general description of the latter.

Once upon a time in Sagalassos

Like industrious ants swarming an area, (re)appropriating all available resources in their environment to ensure their colony's continuance, human beings scurried diligently across the rugged mountains, woodlands, river valleys and plains of Pisidia, their multifarious activities at times leaving behind material imprints which they enfolded upon these varied landscapes, which eventually

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piqued the curiosity of subsequent social groups. Like them, we need to move through these landscapes, dwell in the past as it were, and, as has been enunciated by Ralf Vandam and Patrick Willett (further in this volume), meticulously record all visible inferences of past human activities and environmental processes. During such a regional evaluation of social memory processes – largely based on data documented by the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project's long and successful history of extensive and intensive survey programmes – our eyes are drawn to potential places of mnemonic power. Such places are often re-configured near specific natural features like mountains, hilltops, springs, rock formations and caves. For instance, mnemonically charged activities have been attested at the Karain cave near Termessos, the Kocain cave near Sia, the Zindan cave near Timbriada,[27] and a rock sanctuary near Sagalassos.[28] Within these natural chambers, (fragments of) objects still litter the present surface, ranging from rusted beer cans to ancient terracotta figurines. A hodgepodge of actors and elements, once actively engaged in disparate practices, now cut loose from their original relations, and shifting into the semiotic framework of archaeology. As explained earlier in this volume, by documenting the characteristics and qualities of these objects according to archaeological standards, we can start situating some of them in time. In addition, the properties of certain objects, for example figurines of deities, can hint at the nature of bygone activities. Evidently, we are dealing with surface finds, which only allow limited temporal and contextual inferences regarding the shifting relations from which they emerged and precipitated. Such aggregations of raw data can be abstracted and subsequently explored within a geographical information systems (GIS) environment. Within this abstracted representation of past natural, political and socio-cultural landscapes, we can obtain a preliminary overview of the structural emergence and disappearance of mnemonically charged practices, and interpret them within contemporary developments. In addition to providing a long-term perspective, the resulting hypotheses could offer indications of where to focus our archaeological attention next, and go beyond in- and intergroup dynamics on a regional level. Let us enter a site which has deservedly garnered quite a bit of archaeological attention, and explain how more detailed documentation and reconstruction of archaeological contexts raises our resolution when investigating mnemonically charged practices, resulting in a more nuanced understanding of what can appear to be (supra)regionally homogeneous phenomena.

Similar to a dot on a map, the motionless impression that the material palimpsest of Sagalassos can bestow upon its visitors can easily make one forget that it was once a dirty, inhabited cityscape. Within this political and socio-cultural arena, a wide variety of social groups interacted, each consisting of countless

actors, all on a quest for a sense of spatiotemporal cohesion and ontological predictability, which materialised in multifarious and potentially conflicting ways. For a case in point, take the dynamic honorific practices, often categorised by historians and archaeologists under the umbrella term 'euergetism', in which members of the social elite in the Roman East regularly engaged. These acts, like the financing of a public building, needed to thread a fine line, balancing intricately intertwined relations between in- and inter-group values and beliefs, and their perception and understanding by the very different actors involved. Amongst others, these actors included emperors, representatives of the Roman authorities, fellow members of the local and (supra)regional social elite, the non-elite urban population and those living in the countryside.[29] A lot of people, all of whom were aligned – to varying degrees of intensity – with multiple social groups, which manifested in congruent and disparate understandings and emotive reactions associated with how the world was, and is meant to be. These hopes, fears, concerns and ambitions shaped and changed the cityscape of Sagalassos continually, resulting in new opportunities and constraints for those living within its vicinity. Once built, a building's or monument's physical presence is relatively permanent. However, the use of its space and/or affordances are not simply set in stone. A late first-century BCE to early first-century CE canopy monument, situated at the southern end of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos (Fig. 1), provides a striking example of the dynamic nature of seemingly static things like buildings and inscriptions. After its construction, this structure functioned as a *tychaion*, housing a statue of Tyche, the Goddess of Fortune. Cultic practices successfully, dynamically sustained this function until the end of the fourth century CE,[30] worshipping Tyche into an important actor in re-configuring this public space. As time passed, inscriptions honouring the western emperors Gratian (367–383 CE) and Valentinian II (375–392 CE) were carved into respectively the northeastern and northwestern pedestals, and a reused and partially broken monument – formerly honouring a local notable – was placed on the statue base. In addition to the surviving snippets of its original dedication, it now bore an honorific dedication to honour the empress Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius (395–408 CE).[31] Not only do we observe a shift in the urban assemblage of a shrine to a monument, the removal of Tyche (including altar and inscription), and the addition of imperial actors associated with Christianity also altered the potential for religious associations. Alas, isolated from contemporary (supra)regional processes, and local practices, this evocative example is nothing more than an archaeological anecdote. To truly understand these shifting relations within social memory processes in terms of impactful change and/or continuity, we need to examine them within their contemporary urban fabric, and compare their (material) emergence with what came before, and what oc-

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curred after. Fortunately, the area around the Upper Agora of Sagalassos, where the elite truly let their hair down during Roman imperial times, has been excavated comprehensively, providing us with enough data to reliably reconstruct its spatiotemporal development.[32] Unfortunately, such a scholarly effort is outside the remit of this paper, so we will limit ourselves to some further examples.

Fig. 1. The current situation of the former Tychaion, with the SW-gate and the SW honorific column in the background.

As mentioned, some of the most materially visible mnemonically charged practices revolved around the commission, placement and dedication of so-called honorific monuments. Departing from documentation according to archaeological standards, we need to determine the dimensions, material qualities and inferences, and the original location and date of these honorific assemblages. Unfortunately, their material longevity caused most of them to engage in new relations time and again, sometimes for very different purposes. Consequently, the hardest part is to find (in)direct material traces of their original and/or previous urban environments. Sometimes we are lucky, and the name of a known notable or stratigraphic superposition with datable layers offers enough clues to establish an acceptable range wherein a monument emerged. However, most of these honorific elements bearing inscriptions were found *ex situ*, meaning we cannot reconstruct their location. Consider the fact that the Upper Agora of Sagalassos was monumentalised with limestone slabs in the second quarter of

the first century CE, and remained an open arena for human interaction until some parts were covered during the sixth and seventh centuries CE. For almost seven centuries, this square was a hive of activity, with a veritable hodgepodge of social groups appropriating actors and elements from earlier times, to attempt to enfold their own preferred versions of reality upon this public space. However, some of these practices and activities left some mark, even if these traces have become very faint. Concerning the location of monuments, one material trail is provided by the fact that some were structurally secured by clamp- and dowel-holes fashioned into the surface upon which they were installed (Fig. 2). Comparing potentially corresponding clamp- and dowel-holes can help connect the dots between a displaced monument and one of its earlier locations. In fact, their spatial permanence offers additional clues. After all, where a monument stood, nobody could walk, strut or dance, resulting in less-worn slabs compared to their often-trod neighbours. In addition, water would regularly accumulate between the substructure of the monument and the underlying square. Both the absence of abrading boots and sandals, and the interactions between limestone and standing water can result in a kind of imprint. While, there is no exact correlation between the dimensions of a monument's substructure and such imprints, it is an additional way of narrowing down where certain monuments could have been positioned. Having pinpointed the likely location of several monuments opens up possibilities for spatial analyses of social memory processes, in addition to diachronic evaluations.

Fig. 2. The presence of clamp- and/or dowel-holes in slabs can help in identifying the original location of monuments.

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Naturally, the capacity to communicate in-group concerns by expressing how the past relates to the present was not the sole provenance of the elite. However, the available set of affordances for the common folk generally resulted in less durable and/or imposing material precipitation for archaeologists to play with. Despite this material bias, the urban fabric of Sagalassos displays plenty of inferences not *necessarily* associated with the well-to-do, and which can be directly or indirectly used to study social memory processes. For instance, inscribed graffiti is omnipresent in the upper city of Sagalassos, where the inhabitants regularly expressed their concerns in the limestone slabs, and upon monuments and walls. The specific relations from which these words sprang forth vary considerably. Some seem to claim locations for the temporary installation of market stalls, while others, in the form of crosses, are clearly engaged in religious discourse (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. In the foreground a cross carved into a slab/block covering a drainage channel is present. Behind it the water emerging from the restored Antonine Nymphaeum of Sagalassos glistens in the sunlight. Two material inferences emergent from very different political and socio-cultural phenomena, emblematic of changing social memory processes preserved in the material palimpsest that is the Upper Agora of Sagalassos.

While most of these inferences are hard to date, a systematic examination has never been done, disconnecting the documented graffiti and more mundane traces from the wider contexts in which they emerged. With the aid of 3D imaging and other image-enhancing software, such an endeavour has now become more feasible. 3D imaging (in combination with GIS applications) allows for high-resolution documentation and examination of large horizontal and vertical surfaces, easing the identification and evaluation of a variety of features, including graffiti, postholes, structural modifications, and acts of spoliation and/or reuse, to name but a few. For instance, a bird's eye perspective of a 3D model of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos allows us to identify corresponding postholes, while zooming in on such an area shows a crudely inscribed name, which in all likelihood can be associated with the former proprietor of the stall (Fig. 4). What was once a coveted space for the display of elite achievements became desirable once more for very different reasons. While not as eye-catching as a carefully sculpted monument, such information is essential in obtaining a more inclusive picture of the many lives lived in ancient cities, and the underlying mnemonic dynamics.

Fig. 4. A high resolution image (based on a 2017 3D model of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos) allows the identification of related postholes (blue dots). Zooming in on this area, one of the slabs (red arrow) delineated by the postholes has been inscribed with a name (green arrow).

Like the Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez said, "what matters in life is not what happens to you, but what you remember and how you remember it." This was applicable to past social groups in Sagalassos as well. By creatively

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combining information derived from the monumental husk of an ancient city, and integrating data obtained through material studies, we can start analysing and arguing how those living in the various reincarnations of Sagalassos might have conceived of their past, how they attempted to use past elements to further their present concerns, and how, despite their best intentions, time eventually passed them by. The study of social memory processes requires a wide variety of material data, derived from a diverse assortment of archaeological contexts. Of course, this documentation of material qualities and inferences required to study social memory processes has only been cursorily addressed. For example, the potential in investigating how social groups commemorated their lost ones, or how in certain circumstances seemingly mundane activities can become potent mnemonic in-group signifiers,[33] has not even been mentioned. In other words, the reconstruction of the urban fabric's history is just the beginning, and while social memory can be a powerful tool in investigating how past social groups (re)negotiated themselves, it does require extensive and heterogeneous datasets and a strong tradition of interdisciplinary research. One should not use the concept of social memory as quickly applicable conceptual make-up to dress up out-dated narratives and/or excavation reports.

Notes

1 For example: Kansteiner 2002; Wertsch 2002; Jones 2007.
2 See: Assmann 2006, 5–6; Olick *et al.* 2011, 19–26.
3 Olick *et al.* 2011, 9–10.
4 Thomas 2004, 171–95.
5 Halbwachs 1952, 61.
6 Halbwachs 1952, 225.
7 Halbwachs 1952, 41–42.
8 Klein 2000; Thomas 2004.
9 For instance: Klein 2000; Olick *et al.* 2011, 20–33.
10 Nora 1989, 7–9.
11 Halbwachs 1952, 201.
12 For example: Alcock 2002; Van Dyke 2004.
13 Wertsch 2002.
14 Nora 1989, 13.
15 Halbwachs 1952, 54, 119.
16 Connerton 1989, 72–75.
17 Assmann 2006, 37.
18 Assmann 1988, 10–11.
19 Connerton 1989, 38.
20 Fentress and Wickham 1992, ix.
21 Harris 2014, 94; Lüders *et al.* 2016, 8.
22 White 2008, 1–7.
23 Keane 2005; Preucel 2006; Kohn 2013.
24 Kansteiner 2002, 185.
25 Latour 2005, 46.
26 Delanda 2006, 10; Rogers 2017, 1328.
27 Talloen 2015, 114–15.
28 Talloen *et al.* 2015.
29 Zuiderhoek 2009, 150–53.
30 Talloen 2015, 208–9.
31 Devijver and Waelkens 1995, 118–19.
32 Talloen and Poblome 2016.
33 For example: Cipolla 2008.

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